

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /076 W

----- 082225

R 290749Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9547

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

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USMISSION GENEVA

AAMCONSUL LENINGRAD 259

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY MUNICH

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 0556

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, PL, UR, XH

SUBJECT: IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN IN POLISH PRESS

REF WARSAW 0354 (NOTAL), MOSCOW 1113, WARSAW 0480 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. IDOLOGICAL COMMENTARY ON EAST-WEST RELA-

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TIONS IN THE POLISH PRESS, WHICH HAD BEEN WARMING UP AT

LEAST SINCE THE NOVOSTI ARTICLE ON JANUARY 16 (WARSAW 0354), BECAME HEATED OVER THE WEEKEND. FEW NEW ELEMENTS APPEARED, BUT THE PITCH AND QUANTITY OF DISCUSSION ASSUMED CAMPAIGN PROPORTIONS. WE PRESUME THAT THIS HAS BEEN INSPIRED BY MOSCOW AND THAT THE WEEKEND CRESCENDO WAS TIMED FOR THE GATHERING OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL AND FOREIGN-AFFAIRS SECRETARIES IN WARSAW ON JANUARY 26 (WARSAW 0480).
END SUMMARY.

2. THE CAMPAIGN SEEMS AIMED AT REAFFIRMING THE CONCEPT OF A SHARPENING EAST-WEST IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND DETENTE. AN EFFORT TO PROVE THAT THE CSCE FINAL ACT DOES NOT NEGATE THIS CONCEPT IS ALSO INVOLVED, ALONG WITH AN ATTEMPT TO APPLY COMMUNIST RULES TO THE GAME. THUS, UNDER THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY, IT IS ASSERTED THAT THE RULING COMMUNIST PARTIES CAN, AND SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO, SUPPORT WORKERS AND PROGRESSIVES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE THIRD WORLD. SUPPORT OF THE MPLA IN ANGOLA IS JUSTIFIED IN THESE TERMS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WESTERN COUNTRIES, OR ANTI-DETENTE AND ANTI-SOVIET "CIRCLES" WITHIN THEM, ARE ATTACKED FOR ALLEGEDLY ATTEMPTING EITHER TO BLOCK DETENTE, AS IN THE CASE OF A SCHLESINGER, OR TO EXACT ONE-SIDED CONCESSIONS FROM THE SOVIET UNION UNDER THE GUISE OF CSCE, AS IN THE CASE OF A WILLIAM SAFIRE. ONE COROLLARY THEME INVOLVES AN APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY AMONG COMMUNISTS, RULING AND NON-RULING ALIKE, WHICH IS SEEN AS EVEN MORE NECESSARY AGAINST GROWING POST-HELSINK TENSIONS. THERE IS ALSO AN EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE COMMUNIST-BLOC COMPLIANCE WITH HELSINK WHILE ATTACKING ALLEGED WESTERN FOOT-DRAGGING.

3. THE MOST STRIDENT, YET SOPHISTICATED, EXPOSITION OF THESE POINTS CAME IN A LEAD ARTICLE FOR THE JANUARY 24 ISSUE OF THE WEEKLY POLITYKA. WRITTEN BY DANIEL PASSENT, IT SEEKS TO DEFEND THE POST-HELSINKI STATUS QUO IN THE COMMUNIST CAMP BY ATTACKING COLUMNISTS SUCH AS WILLIAM SAFIRE AND C.L. SULZBERGER, WHO ALLEGEDLY DENY PORTUGAL THE "RIGHT" TO INTERNAL CHANGE SINCE IT IS A NATO MEMBER.
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BER, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CALLING FOR "DEEP AND RAPID" CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION.

4. PASSENT DEVOTES MUCH OF HIS ARTICLE TO A SOMETIMES BITTER ATTACK ON ALLEGED AMERICAN TENDENCIES TOWARD RETRENCHMENT ON DETENTE, BEGINNING WITH THE RECENT PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF FOOD AS A NEW "WEAPON". HE CONTENDS THAT AGRICULTURE SECRETARY BUTZ ASSOCIATED HIMSELF

WITH SUCH NOTIONS. PASSENT FURTHER CONDEMNS TENDENCIES IN THE U.S. TO EMPLOY TRADE AS A MEANS OF EXTRACTING CONCESSIONS FROM THE SOVIET UNION ON INTERNAL POLICIES. RESPONDING TO AMERICANS WHO ASK WHAT BENEFITS ACCRUE TO THE U.S. FROM DETENTE, PASSENT PROVIDES A LONG LIST, BEGINNING WITH CREATION OF FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM. HE OBSERVES THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN IMPROVEMENT OF CULTURAL AND OTHER CONTACTS WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WITHOUT ANY CONCESSIONS IN AMERICAN INTERNAL POLICIES. HE ALSO NOTES THAT THE MILD TREATMENT OF WATERGATE BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SHOWS THAT THE U.S.'S "PARTNERS" IN SEEKING DETENTE ARE ABOVE EXPLOITING AMERICA'S INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES.

5. THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF DETENTE RELATIVE TO THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IS A MAJOR FEATURE OF THE CAMPAIGN. ZBIGNIEW RAMOTOWSKI, WRITING IN THE WEEKEND SZYCIE WARSZAWY, CRITICIZED THOSE IN THE WEST WHO SEEK IDEOLOGICAL DETENTE ALONG WITH POLITICAL AND MILITARY RELAXATION. RYSZARD DRECKI, IN THE JANUARY 26 ISSUE OF TRYBUNA LUDU, PRESENTED A LENGTHY AND STANDARD DEFENSE OF THE CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE COMBINED WITH A CONTINUING STRUGGLE OF IDEAS.

6. IMPLICATIONS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FOR RELATIONS AMONG EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS, BOTH RULING AND NON-RULING, WERE ADDRESSED BY TWO BIG GUNS FROM THE RELATIVELY NEW INSTITUTE OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT. BOTH ATTACK ALLEGED WESTERN EFFORTS TO WEAKEN TIES AMONG THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES THROUGH AN "ANTI-SOVIET" CAMPAIGN. INSTITUTE DIRECTOR JANUSZ GOLEBIOWSKI IN THE JANUARY 23 TRYBUNA LUDU PARTICULARLY NOTES THAT THE EFFORT TO PIT OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AGAINST THE USSR AND THE LATTER AGAINST

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INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIST PARTIES IS A WEAPON OF CONTEMPORARY ANTI-COMMUNISM WHICH NECESSITATES CONTINUED SOLIDARITY AND FULL COMPREHENSION OF THE SOVIET UNION'S LEADING ROLE IN THE MOVEMENT. SUCH ATTITUDES REFLECT TRUE PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM, AS OPPOSED TO THE "DANGEROUS" PRACTICE OF MAKING NATIONAL SINGULARITIES ABSOLUTE.

7. DR. JERZY PAWLOWICZ REINFORCED HIS DIRECTOR'S VIEWS THE FOLLOWING DAY IN TRYBUNA LUDU. HE PARTICULARLY WARNED WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES AGAINST BEING TAKEN IN BY "BOURGEOIS" OFFERS OF COOPERATION AND INCLUSION IN GOVERNMENT AT THE PRICE OF "TRUE INDEPENDENCE" FROM MOSCOW. CITING THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, PAWLOWICZ POINTEDLY OBSERVED THAT THE WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES "PERCEIVE THE DANGER" IN THIS AND, IF THEY SEEK PARTICIPATION

IN GOVERNMENT, REGARD IT AS A "PONT OF DEPARTURE"
FOR FURTHER STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST TRANS-
FORMATIONS AND NOT AS A FORM OF "CLASS COMPACT" OF
RECONCILIATION WITH THE BOURGEOISIE

8. THE MOST DIRECT ASSERTION REGARDING SOVIET CSCE
COMPLIANCE CAME IN A ZYCIE WARSZAWY EDITORIAL ON JANU-
ARY 27 ABOUT THE RECENT SOVIET MANEUVER-OBSERVER INVI-
TATIONS. THE EDITORIALISTS BLANDLY ASSERTED THAT THE
SOVIET INVITATIONS WERE "THE FIRST STEP OF THIS KIND"
AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE RECIPROCATED, PRESUMABLY THE NATO
POWERS.

9. COMMENT: ALL THIS ADDS UP TO THE HEADIEST AND
MOST VOLUMINOUS IDEOLOGICAL COMMENTARY WE HAVE SEEN
HERE IN A LONG TIME. ITS CONTENT GENERALLY ACCODS
WITH THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH AT THE RECENT SEVENTH
PARTY CONGRESS, BUT WE PRESUME THAT ITS TACTICS AND
TIMING ARE BEING INSPIRED BY MOSCOW. WE LOOK FOR MORE OF
THE SAME IN THE DAYS AHEAD.
DAVIES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, COMMUNIST DOCTRINE, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976WARSAW00556
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760033-1273
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976017/aaaaafxm.tel
Line Count: 190
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 WARSAW 354, 76 WARSAW 480
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <28 JUL 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN IN POLISH PRESS
TAGS: PFOR, PL, UR, XH, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006